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Missionary Problems
and
Policies in Japan

by

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PREFACE

THE following lectures were delivered by Bishop Tucker at the University of Virginia in January, 1921. Some months later, when the Bishop was on the point of returning to Japan, a few Church people who had been given the opportunity to read the manuscript, believing the lectures to be of great and permanent value, asked the privilege of arranging for their publication. There was no time for revision and the lectures are, therefore, printed exactly as delivered.

It should be understood that, according to the intention of their author, these lectures are in no sense a justification of the need and importance of Christian work in Japan. It is assumed that those who read them are already convinced on this point and understand the significance of the Church's Mission and the responsibility of its maintenance. The one purpose is to present the problems of the existing work and the spirit and method by which alone they can be successfully solved.

Bishop Tucker's whole ministry has been spent in the Japan Mission. He was President of St. Paul's College, Tokyo, for nine years, and has been Bishop of Kyoto since 1912. His intimate knowledge of the people of Japan and sympathetic understanding of their national characteristics and aspirations, his familiarity with every phase of Christian work among them, his statesmanlike grasp of the larger problems of the Orient and their relations to those of the Western World, and above all, his profound spiritual insight and far-reaching vision qualify him to speak with full authority and give to the clear and uncompromising statements in these lectures a force which should be at once compelling and inspiring.

GEORGE A. STRONG.

MISSIONARY PROBLEMS AND POLICIES IN JAPAN

LECTURE I.

The Present Problem

THE Japanese have an ancient saying to the effect that he who would conquer must know both his adversary and himself. The time has come when we need to apply this principle to our foreign missionary enterprise. We have, indeed, entered upon this work as a venture of faith, confident that, however overwhelming the difficulties, Christ's command to make disciples of all nations carries with it the assurance of final success. Yet the certainty that some desirable end will ultimately be realized is no excuse for neglecting the means by which alone it can be accomplished. Faith in the superiority of Christianity to all other religions must not degenerate into the assumption that its progress is automatic and exempt from the laws upon which success in human affairs is conditioned. The power of Christianity to produce results in the world is measured, not only by the value of its ideal, but also by the degree to which that ideal is realized in Christians. Missionary work, then, demands the same prudent and wise consideration that is requisite to success in all practical undertakings. The nature and magnitude of the task must be ascertained. The means requisite to the accomplishment of such a task must be determined. We must prepare and qualify ourselves to adopt those means. "Which of you intending to build a tower sitteth not down first and counteth the cost whether he have sufficient to finish it?"

The purpose of these leetures is to apply such considerations to the missionary work of our Church in Japan. First, we will consider the nature of the problems that confront us. Secondly, the policy that must be pursued on the field in the face of these problems. Finally, the demands that the carrying out of such a poliey will make upon the Church at home.

To the Oriental, Christianity presented itself in the first place as the religion of the Western nations. The missionary did not come alone, but in company with the trader, the teacher and the soldier. He represented one phase of the inrush of new influences and new

ideas, which followed the breaking down of the barriers that had so long separated the West from the East. If the East had been devoid of a civilization of its own, or had its civilization been so lacking in vitality that it simply crumbled away before the advancing tide from the West, the problem of missions would have been a comparatively simple one. Its chief task would have been to reawaken interest in religion, in the assurance that any revival of faith would naturally turn to Christianity for satisfaction. For a while in Japan it looked almost as if that were what was going to happen. The first resentment against intrusion gave way to such enthusiastic reception of everything western that it appeared, superficially at least, as if the whole of the old civilization would be discarded in favour of the new. Even the historic prejudice of the Japanese against Christianity was unable to withstand the prestige which attached to it as the religion of a superior civilization. One would have been tempted to conclude that so far as Japan was concerned Christianity's chief foes were those of its own household. It appeared likely that the new influences would determine the religious future of the Empire. The only question was as to whether the resultant of those influences would take the direction of Christianity or materialism.

The eclipse of the ancient order, however, proved only temporary. It soon became evident that the result of the contact of the two civilizations was not to be the substitution of the new for the old, but a process of amalgamation between them. The East had indeed much to learn from the West. In so far as civilization consists in the application of ideas to the production of practical results, it found itself hopelessly outdistanced. The question remained, however, as to whether the superiority extended to the basic principles of the civilization or whether it was due to the method of cultivating those principles. We may take as an illustration military power. Did the difference consist in weapons, training and organization, or did it spring from inferiority in the military virtues themselves? The event soon proved that the Japanese soldier when given modern training and equipment was fully able to hold his own against the armies of Europe. Again experience has shown that many of the forms of Western civilization are not suited to Oriental conditions. The tendency, for example, to adopt European dress for women quickly died down when it became evident that such clothing was neither comfortable nor becoming. Illustra-

tions might be multiplied to show that, great as have been the changes which have been effected by the introduction of Western ideas and methods into Japan, in fundamentals continuity with the past has been preserved. The root and the body of the tree remain unchanged, although by a judicious system of grafting it has been made to produce new varieties of fruit.

What, then, will be the fate of the old religions in this process of reconstruction? In answering this question it is necessary first to consider the part played by these religions in the development of the former civilization. The original religion of the Japanese was Shinto.* It is very lacking in theological or ethical teachings, but it has furnished the religious expression for two of the strongest Japanese sentiments, reverence for ancestors and loyalty to the Imperial Family. While Shinto itself does not seem likely to survive, yet a place for these sentiments must be found in any future religious reconstruction.

The ethical ideals of Japan are largely the product of Confucianism. It is hardly a religion, but it has exercised a far-reaching and lasting influence upon the life and thought of the Japanese, especially of the educated classes. One of the developments from Confucianism was Bushido,† the way of the Samurai or warrior. It was neither a religion nor a system of ethics, but may perhaps best be described as the spirit of loyal devotion and knightly honour. This spirit still retains its hold upon the people generally and will undoubtedly be one of the formulating influences in shaping their future ideals. Philosophically Confucianism was characterized by a positivist tendency. As a result of this one finds among the educated people of Japan a strong disinclination to belief in the supernatural, a characteristic which will certainly play some part in determining their attitude towards religion.

The great turning point in the development of Japanese civilization was the introduction of Buddhism from Korea about the middle of the sixth century.‡ With Buddhism came not only new religious ideas, but a new culture. It exercised the same kind of civilizing influence in Japan that Christianity did in Northern Europe. In the beginning, indeed, it was the practical benefits brought by

*Note: Aston's "Way of the Gods." Look up other references. Harada, "Faith of Japan."

†Note: Japanese Confucianism. Armstrong's "Light from Ancient East." Nitobe's Bushido.

‡References: History—Murdock, etc. Religion—Griffis, Religions of Japan; Harada, Faith of Japan; Reischauer, Studies in Japanese Buddhism; Lloyd, Creed of Half Japan, Shinran and His Work.

Buddhism rather than its doctrinal teaching which impressed the people. It was only after it had been to some extent harmonized with pre-existing Japanese religious ideas that it gained widespread hold upon the popular mind. In this process it underwent many strange developments, some of which were apparently quite inconsistent with the original Buddhistic philosophy. For example, the older Buddhism taught that salvation was attained only by one's own efforts, while the later Japanese sects developed the doctrine of salvation by the power of another.* In this doctrine is involved a distinct approach towards theism (Amida). These Japanese modifications of Buddhism have a very significant bearing upon the question of the part that it is to play in the future reconstruction of religion in Japan. First they opened the way for a much deeper impression of Buddhistic conceptions upon Japanese life and thought than would have been possible for the original religion. This means that Japanese, even though Buddhism itself should perish, will approach religion from a Buddhistic point of view. Further, the character of these modifications is in the direction of breaking down the contrast between Buddhism and the religious conceptions that have come in from the West. Finally, this capacity for adjustment to new conditions greatly increases the possibility of its passing through such a crisis as confronts it at the present time.

The limits of these lectures do not admit of any detailed examination of the doctrines of Buddhism. For our purpose the important point is that Buddhism together with Shinto and Confucianism represents the religious conceptions which have become natural to Japanese. In so far as their life and thought are determined by their own past, any awakening of religious interest will tend to express itself along the lines of their former faiths. A distinction must be made, of course, between the character and the content of their religious conceptions. The latter will undoubtedly be greatly altered and enriched by the new ideas which have poured in from the West, but the manner of expressing this new content will be largely influenced by the inherited modes of thought and feeling. For example, while it seems certain that the belief in a supreme Deity will be included in the future religion of Japanese, yet in their conception of God it will be very difficult for them to escape the influence of the Pantheism which has been bred into

*Note: See Arthur Lloyd, Reischauer.

their thought by Buddhism. Not only will the old modes of thought persist, but there are some elements in their old beliefs, such as reverence for ancestors, with which they will not easily part. With the great mass of people satisfaction of sentiment is perhaps a more cogent recommendation of a religion than an appeal to reason.

What bearing have these considerations upon the task that confronts Christianity in Japan? They show that the christianizing of the nation as a whole is a much more complex problem than it is sometimes assumed to be. In estimating, therefore, the nature and magnitude of the missionary task it will not do to leave out of account the continuing influence of the old religions. It will not do to formulate our missionary policy on the assumption that they are doomed to decay in the atmosphere of the new civilization. That may or may not be true, but in any case their influence over the thought and life of the people will persist. Two facts need to be borne in mind. First, Christian work up to the present time has been to a large degree confined to that element among the people which is most susceptible to foreign ideas. Secondly, the reaction of the old order is only beginning to show its real strength.

So far as the religious sphere is concerned this reaction is taking two forms; 1st, a revival of activity on the part of Buddhism; 2d, attempts at the formation of new religions. When Christianity first came to Japan it found Buddhism reflecting the social and economic lethargy of Japanese Society. It appeared to have lost entirely that aggressive missionary spirit which characterized it in the days when it swept triumphantly through China and Japan. It seemed morally and spiritually decadent. Buddhism, however, has not remained unaffected by the new spirit of progress which has produced such remarkable results in all other directions. Some of its sects at least have begun to bestir themselves, especially the Shinshu,* which is by far the most vigorous and the most popular in Japan. An interesting feature of this revival is that the Shinshu leaders have not hesitated to break away from tradition and to adopt ideas and methods suited to the new age. They have been distinctly influenced by Christianity both in their theology and in their practical methods. The theistic note to which reference was made in an earlier part of the lecture is being more and more emphasized.

*Note: Collections of hymns for the use of Sunday Schools have been published. The hymns are very largely adaptations of those which have proved popular in Christian schools. In some the Father is addressed in practically the same terms that Christians would use. Pamphlets have also been published giving advice to parents concerning religious instruction and training.

They have organized Young Men's Buddhist Associations. There is a Buddhist Salvation Army. Taking the Christian Sunday School as a model, they are making very energetic attempts to extend their influence among the children of the Empire. Their student priests are being given a better education than our own theological candidates receive. They are producing and distributing widely a large amount of excellently written propaganda literature. Their social welfare work is beginning to attract sympathetic attention. In addition to their activities at home, they are carrying on missionary work in several foreign countries.*

It is too early yet to say what the final results of this revival will be. Pure Buddhism, with its pessimism, would hardly seem to be a religion suited to a progressive people. On the other hand Shinshu represents a wide divergence from orthodox Buddhism and is even now showing a marked capacity for adjusting itself to new conditions. Much depends upon the amount of moral earnestness back of the movement. In any case it suggests one possible form which the religious reconstruction may take. To the alternative Christianity or materialism we must add a third term, modernized and Christianized Buddhism.

The second form in which the religious reaction is manifesting itself is the springing up of new religions. Japanese scholars have frequently suggested that what Japan needs is a form of belief combining all the good points of the world's great religions while leaving out all of their superstitious elements. The new religions, however, have disregarded entirely this advice. Their creeds consist for the most part of a jumble of naive and superstitious ideas fitted into a Shinto setting, with some special feature added which attracts popular attention. Thus Tenrikyo practices faith healing and Omotokyo, the latest of these sects, appeals to the sentiment of nationalism. While none of these can be considered as serious competitors for Japan's future religious allegiance, both the form that such movements have taken and the success with which they have met suggest the possibility of the emergence of a religious movement in which modern ideas will be grafted on to the body of the old Japanese faiths. They at least serve to show how firm a hold the old religious sentiments and modes of thought retain upon the people generally. Until Christianity has established points of contact with these traditional sentiments and ideas, it will be diffi-

*e. g., Hawaii, United States, Korea, China.

cult to get the masses of the people to respond to its appeal. In this connection mention should be made of the efforts of the authorities during recent years to revive interest in Shinto, not indeed as a religion but rather as a national cult. This movement is due to the apprehension lest material and intellectual development should result in the undermining of the national spirit of the people. In order to prevent this, official encouragement is being given to the performance of ceremonies connected with the shrines of the Imperial ancestors and of the national heroes. The government is careful to explain that worship before these shrines is not religious, but is meant to arouse patriotic sentiment. It is difficult, however, to maintain this distinction in the minds of the masses of the people. Prof. Chamberlain has described this movement as the creation of a new religion.* While any such intention is disclaimed, yet undoubtedly the sentiment aroused by such rites is religious in character. Patriotism is not, as is sometimes said, the only religion of the Japanese, but no religion which does not give satisfaction to their patriotic feeling will be likely to win their allegiance.

So far we have been considering the problems that are raised for Christian missionary work by the influence of the pre-existing religions. We found reasons to believe that these problems will be much more serious in the future than they have been in the past. We must now turn our attention to difficulties of another kind. In the case of the introduction of Buddhism into Japan we saw that in the beginning it was the practical benefits it brought rather than the nature of its creed that secured it a welcome. The same thing was to a large extent true with regard to the reception accorded Christianity. Its missionaries came (to Japan) to proclaim the Gospel, but they brought with them practical evidences of the value of their teaching. They were the apostles of the ideal side of the new civilization, whose material achievements were making a profound impression upon the Japanese. For the religion by itself there was not likely to be much enthusiasm. Indeed Japan had for centuries nursed an intense suspicion of Christianity. When, however, its missionaries began to establish schools, build hospitals and to devote themselves to bettering social and moral conditions, this suspicion gave way to respect for a religion which produced such fruits. Gradually also the value and the reasonableness of certain aspects of its teaching won recognition, especially among those

*Note: Creation of New Religion—B. H. Chamberlain. Note expenditure of several millions on Meiji Shrine and ceremonies connected with its opening.

who had imbibed the spirit of the new times. Some of those who were thus attracted by the teaching and labours of the missionaries identified themselves with the Christian organizations, but the majority were content with accepting the practical lessons. It thus happened that while the churches grew but slowly, Christian ideas and standards obtained a wide following. The result of this was that soon the example set by the missionaries began to be followed outside the limits of the Christian community. Moral and social principles which had at first been associated with Christianity became the accepted standard of educated public opinion. This is a great tribute to the influence of Christianity, but at the same time it deprives it of one of its chief assets in its evangelistic appeal. Formerly Christians might be said to have had a monopoly of the leadership in philanthropic enterprises. Today the amount of such work under Christian control represents only a small proportion of what is being done. Only recently in a Kyoto paper there appeared an article strongly criticizing Christianity for the falling off of its interest in social welfare work. "Even the Buddhists," said the writer, "are showing more activity in these matters than are the Churches." The criticism was hardly fair, for during the past twenty years Japanese Christians have greatly increased both the scope and the intensity of their philanthropic efforts. Twenty years ago, however, they had few competitors. Now interest in such questions has become general. The large and well-equipped institutions founded by the Government and by wealthy individuals overshadow anything that Christians can do with the scanty means at their disposal.

It is not meant to imply that this christianization of public opinion is a drawback to missionary work. On the contrary, it is one of the ends towards which we have been striving and its accomplishment means that it is now possible to advance to the next stage of our programme. If the purpose of our work up to the present has been to create public sentiment sympathetic with Christian ideals and to develop the Japanese Church, the next step will be to make an evangelistic appeal to this sentiment through the agency of that Church. The springing up of new problems and new difficulties is a sign that new and larger opportunities lie ahead of us. They also teach us that as our work develops and as its character changes we must be prepared to alter our methods to suit the new conditions.

The religious situation in Japan is further complicated by the fact that the influences coming in from the West have not by any means been altogether favourable to Christianity. This would have been the case even if the Oriental had given an impartial welcome to all sides of western civilization. He was not, however, particularly impressed with its spiritual superiority, but concentrated his attention almost entirely upon its material and intellectual achievements. These, so far from creating any interest in Christianity, led him rather in the opposite direction. The result was widespread materialism and agnosticism. The influence of the Christian countries themselves gives rise to one of the greatest difficulties met with in carrying on missionary work.

There are many other features of the situation in Japan which have an important bearing on the formulation of missionary policies, but it will be best to postpone mention of these until we have determined what is involved in presenting Christianity to a society whose modes of thought are those of the old religions and whose practical standards are, roughly speaking, those of Christianity. Two difficulties at once suggest themselves. Christianity expressed in purely Western terms will not fit in with their religious point of view, nor can it any longer depend upon its contribution of practical benefits to compensate for that disadvantage. On the other hand, the old religions do not furnish an adequate basis for the new life. It is just here that Christianity will find powerful support for its appeal. Can we not say then that our future task is to present Christianity to the Japanese in such a way that they can find in it satisfaction for all the truth of their old religion, both as regards its substance and its form, and that in addition they shall find a Gospel adequate for the new life which they have learned to prize? In other words, we must let Christ speak to them His gracious message, "I am come not to destroy but to fulfill." We must make plain the capacity of Christianity to be a New Testament, not only to Hebraism and to Greek Philosophy, but also to Buddhism, Shinto and Confucianism. We must recognize that God in time past spoke at sundry times and in divers manners to the Oriental as well as to the Hebrew and to the Greek. Should we not also expect that the fullness of the Godhead which dwells in Christ cannot be perfectly revealed until He has had the opportunity to bring to its consummation those aspects of the truth that were entrusted to the prophets of the East?

A moment's thought is sufficient to show that this task, which is so easy to state abstractly, involves enormous difficulties which up to the present time we have not really faced. When we remember how arduous has been the process of adjusting our expression of Christianity to the development of our own thought, we will appreciate something of what is involved in harmonizing it with an entirely different order of ideas. It will not be easy to distinguish between what is of the essence and what is merely due to our modes of thinking. Names and forms that have become dear by long association will have to be sacrificed. A great change of heart will be required to enable us to get rid of what seems to be a congenital characteristic of westerners, the sense of their own superiority. On the other side is the danger of allowing the resultant religion to be determined altogether by the exigencies of the situation, to become a reduced, instead of an enriched, Christianity. In our search for points of contact we must not disregard the points of contrast. We must be loyal to St. Paul's principle, "The Jews require a sign, the Greeks seek after wisdom, but we preach Christ crucified," not indeed with dogmatic arrogance, but by displaying persuasive evidence that in us He has proved Himself to be both the power and the wisdom of God. These problems, of course, do not call for immediate decision. They will arise in the course of a long process, but it is necessary to qualify ourselves to deal with questions that are sure to come up, one might almost say to orientate ourselves. Also it is important to formulate policies that will allow this development to begin and go forward freely.

When one considers the nature of this new task the importance of the native Churches will be at once evident. It is not without reason that the chief emphasis in our work so far has been laid upon their organization and upon the training of leaders. Only a Church to which the Oriental mode of thought is an inheritance is qualified for the task of interpreting Christianity to the great mass of Easterners. A people like the Japanese whose national self-consciousness and national self-reliance are highly developed will not readily yield to the appeal of a religion which is not incorporated into the national life. The significant feature in the present missionary situation is found in the coming to age, as it were, of the Japanese Church. This means that the first stage of our missionary work, that is, the development of the organism through which Japan can be evangelized, is nearing its completion. In the lectures which

follow we shall consider the question, What further is required of us to enable this organism, this indigenous Church so full of promise but at the same time so immature and so lacking in resources, to fulfill the purpose for which it has been created?

LECTURE II

Policies in the Field

IN the preceding lecture we considered the problems that are raised for missionary work by the religious attitude of the Japanese. We found that while they had accepted quite widely Christian practical ideas, philosophically and sentimentally the fundamental influence was that of the old religions. One often hears the criticism, "Christianity is inferior to Buddhism philosophically, but more efficient practically." Moreover, the influence of modern scientific teaching is seen in the prevalence among the educated classes of agnosticism, or at least of a demand for a religion stripped of all supernatural elements. The Christian apologetic must, therefore, be presented in such a form that it will meet the objections of modern thought and at the same time awaken a response from the submerged but not extinct oriental religious temperament. Experience shows that the foreign missionary is not qualified to fulfill the second of these conditions, but that we must depend upon Japanese Christians to interpret Christianity to Japanese. This, however, does not mean the cessation or even any lessening of the contribution which Western Churches have been making to the missionary cause. The evangelization of Japan will require the putting forth of the united efforts of the whole of Christendom, but the time has come when outside assistance should be mediated through the agency of the indigenous Church. It is not a question of whether our help is needed, but of how it shall be given. The answer is that henceforth it should be given by way of co-operation and not of control. We must allow the Japanese to work freely as Japanese and not simply as mouthpieces of the Western Churches. At the same time we must give them such support as will make their work as Japanese effective for the end in view. The purpose of this lecture is to show that the development of the Japanese Church has reached a stage at which this change of policy is both feasible and desirable, and further to indicate what it means in practice.

It is necessary first of all to review briefly the methods of work that have been followed up to the present and the results that have been accomplished. In doing this we shall leave out of consideration the Roman and Greek Catholic Missions. Although their work

has met with great success, their methods and their relation to the home Churches are so different from the general type that they throw only incidental light on our particular problem.

The first Protestant missionaries reached Japan in 1859. They were not able to do much direct evangelistic work until 1873, when the edicts against Christianity were abolished. During this period only about ten people were baptized. It was not, however, barren of results. The missionaries familiarized themselves with the language. A beginning was made in the translation of the Bible. Of still more importance for the future was the progress made in gaining the confidence of the people and in softening the intense hatred of the Christian religion.

In 1873 the removal of the edicts against Christianity and the arrival of a large number of new missionaries made possible the commencement of aggressive work. The end to be pursued was two-fold,—the development of a Japanese Church and the general promulgation of Christian ideas. All the forms of work engaged in had these two objects in view. The results accomplished by the sermon, the school, the hospital or the tract were not confined to the comparatively small number who received baptism. Equally as significant for the future christianization of the nation was the influence exerted upon those who did not respond to the appeal to unite themselves with the Church, for through them a general understanding of the Christian point of view became widely disseminated.

Further in regard to those who became converts the purpose was not simply to make as many as possible. It was rather to organize them into an autonomous Church. For the formation of a Church the training of converts is no less important than their acquisition. It is certainly more difficult. Not only must the general body of members be trained in the doctrine and practice of Christianity, but leaders are needed, men qualified to fill the position which in the first place is necessarily occupied by the foreign missionary. The Church's capacity for influencing the nation will depend upon the character of its leadership more than upon its size.

We see, therefore, why from the beginning great emphasis was laid upon educational, philanthropic and literary work. Looked at purely from the point of view of making converts, schools and charitable institutions might seem to be a misapplication of funds and energy. The same amount of money put into evangelistic work would undoubtedly produce greater results, so far as numbers go.

The function of the school is to supply the leadership without which even a multitude of converts would fail to constitute a Church. The most hopeful feature of the work in Japan today is the large body of well-trained, earnest native ministers. These men represent the contribution of missionary education to the cause of Christianity. The school is also useful in removing prejudice and in creating a sympathetic attitude towards Christianity on the part of the people generally, thus opening the way for the extension of evangelistic work.

This same consideration applies with equal force to philanthropic institutions. The practical illustration which they give of the spirit of the new religion carries greater conviction than many sermons. The number of baptisms among the patients of a hospital may be small compared with the expenditure of money it involves, but its influence affects thousands who would never venture into a preaching hall. A prominent Japanese once remarked, "St. Luke's Hospital is your Church's most eloquent missionary." Philanthropic work also furnishes the means of training the young converts in their practical duties as Christians.

Some idea of the success which attended these methods may be obtained from the statistics compiled for the Osaka Conference of Missionaries in 1883. During ten years the number of the baptized members of the various Churches had increased from ten to five thousand. There were ninety-three organized congregations, of which fifteen were already self-supporting. A native ministry, consisting of forty-nine ordained men and one hundred evangelists, had been developed. The subjects appointed for discussion in the conference are significant as showing the nature of the problems that had begun to confront the work. Among what are called obstacles to the reception of Christianity we find cited, not only the influence of the old religions, but also the widespread reading of anti-Christian literature imported from the West. There were several papers read on the purpose and methods of educational work. Much attention was given to the question as to the proper kind of training needed for native pastors. The position of medical missions was discussed. The subject that seemed to have roused the warmest debate was "Self-support in the Native Church: Should foreign money be used at all"? In all these papers the true aim of missionary work, the development of the indigenous Church, is kept well in the foreground. Already we find attention being called

to the question of the relation between native self-support and help from abroad, although for the most part the discussions assume the continuance of missionary control.

During the period preceding the Osaka Conference considerable progress had been made in bringing about a more favourable attitude towards Christianity, especially on the part of the Central Government. There was still, however, a great deal of opposition, not only from the partisans of the old religions, but from intelligent people who, though indifferent to religion in general, were convinced that Christianity was detrimental to the national welfare. In 1882, for example, we find Mr. Fukuzawa, one of the pioneer reformers of Modern Japan, writing, "The national religion of Japan is Buddhist. We must protect it from decay. The higher classes of Japan care nothing about any religion. Nevertheless, at the present juncture this peculiar merit of the Japanese is a grave detriment to the country. That Christianity is a danger to our national power is evident. Unless Buddhism is assisted by the influence of the upper classes nothing can obstruct the intrusion of Christianity. Buddhist priests are immoral and shameless, and without energy of spirit. It is very unsafe to trust this weighty cause to them alone. We do not believe in Buddhism nor do we respect the priest. Our concern is for the national power, in the conservation of which that religion must be utilized."*

Even in this article, however, we see evidences of the great change that was beginning to take place in public opinion. That change was due in the first place to growing enthusiasm for everything western, but it was the good work done during a long period of years that enabled the Church to take advantage of the new situation. Crowds of eager inquirers began to pour into the mission stations. Numerous invitations to open work or to send someone to give instruction in Christianity were received. Even those who were cynically indifferent to religion urged the adoption of Christianity as a national policy. The same Mr. Fukuzawa who was so strenuous in his opposition in 1882, three years later writes, "There is no alternative for our country but to adopt the social color of civilized nations in order to maintain our independence on a footing of equality with the various powers of the West. As an absolutely necessary preliminary the Christian religion must be introduced from Europe and America."† Men like Mr. Fukuzawa were not at

*Quoted in Cary—History of Christianity in Japan, p. 159.
†Quoted by Cary, op. cit. p. 172.

all interested in Christianity from the purely religious point of view. They represented the old Confucian school of thought, whose inherited aloofness to the supernatural had been confirmed by the influence of Western rationalism. It was a question of policy. As Mr. Fukuzawa put it in another article, "We must change our professed belief and wear a religious dress uniform with others. We cannot attach too much importance to Japan's entrance into the comity of Christian nations."

In such circumstances the Christian community developed with great rapidity. Within five years after the Osaka Conference its baptized membership had increased to over 25,000,—that is more than 500 per cent.*

There was corresponding progress in self-support and in the development of the native ministry. Under such conditions, however, rapid growth was accompanied by grave dangers. A large proportion of those who were so eager to become Christians had very little idea of what Christianity really meant. Their faith was sincere enough, but it was faith in Christianity as the religion of civilization. With some this was the stepping stone to a true conversion, so that the Churches owe many of their staunchest adherents and most capable ministers to this period. The faith of others, however, withered with the passing away of the atmosphere in which it was born. The time of testing came when in the nineties the enthusiasm for Western ideas was succeeded by a nationalistic reaction. This gave the elements opposed to Christianity the opportunity to dominate public sentiment. The Churches suffered both from the falling away of their members and from the retardation of evangelistic work. Even those who remained loyal were affected by the wave of reaction. Japan did not indeed propose to throw overboard all that she had learned from the West, but rather to make it truly Japanese. Western interference or advice was greatly resented.† Accordingly in the Church there arose a strong movement for throwing off the dependence of Japanese Christianity upon its Western teachers and for giving it a Japanese form. This movement deserves attention because it represents a premature attempt to realize the end towards which missionary work is directed. We can learn from it some of the problems involved in such a step and

*Cary, op. cit. p. 174: Roman Catholic, 1890, 42,000 (including children); Greek 1883, 8,863 (including children).

†Note: Dr. Cary cites as an instance of this, that when someone criticized blunders in the English of articles published by Japanese, the reply was that Japanese need not be bound by the rules in force in England, but would produce a Japanese form of English superior to the original.

some of the conditions which are indispensable to its success. In the first place the motive that inspired the movement was not only concern for the welfare of the cause but also resentment against foreign control. Such resentment is perfectly natural, but unless it is based upon a strong sense of the responsibility of the native Church for the Christianization of Japan and a conviction that this can be carried out more efficiently by Japanese working independently, it is insufficient to guarantee useful results. In the second place the Japanese Church was not mature enough either in strength or character to dispense with outside guidance and help. Could it have counted on the loyal support of all of its members and could these have been united in one body, it would doubtless have been better qualified for vigorous activity. Already many of those who had entered the Church so enthusiastically had grown cold and were backsliding morally. The really staunch Christians were divided up among a number of denominations, no one of which was strong enough for useful independent work. The most serious drawback, however, was that even the ablest of the leaders did not have a sufficiently firm grasp of Christianity to qualify them for the task of modifying it to suit Japanese conditions. They had accepted the instruction given them on the authority of their teachers, but had not assimilated it thoroughly enough to be able to stand firm against the criticisms of the rationalizing philosophy that dominated the Japanese intellectual world at that period. As soon, therefore, as the restraint of the authority on which they had accepted the traditional teachings was removed, they succumbed to the influence of their environment. In such circumstances their proposed adjustment of Christianity to suit Japanese conditions was neither safe nor useful. In the first place, there was nothing to balance the demand for stripping religion of its supernatural elements. Further, the environment itself did not represent the permanent religious characteristics of Japan. Under these prevailing conditions the so-called adjustment would have been only a conflict between two forms of Western thought and the resultant faith would have been much less qualified than traditional Christianity even in its Western form for meeting the real problems that would ultimately have to be solved.

Another lesson which a study of this period suggests is the importance of reconciling independence and the continuance of contact with the older Churches. The principle laid down by one of

the chief protagonists of the movement toward a Japanese Christianity was that* "henceforth we must think independently and construct without assistance so as to build a Church of Japan." This meant the entire repudiation, not only of foreign dictation, but also of foreign co-operation. Independence achieved in such a spirit was not likely to prove a success especially in view of the immaturity of the native Church. On the other hand the foreign missions failed to find any mode of continuing their influence and support and at the same time giving scope for Japanese initiative. The conditions were not yet ripe for the solution of that problem. The Japanese Church needed to continue for a while longer under tutelage, but the experience was at least a warning that the time was approaching when, in order to ensure further development, a way would have to be found of transferring the control of the work to native leaders without abandoning them altogether.

STATISTICS SHOWING DEVELOPMENT OF THE NIPPON SEI KOKWAI
1910-1919

	Ordained Clergy		Baptized Persons		No. of Communicants		Total Contributions (Yen)	
	1910	1919	1910	1919	1910	1919	1910	1919
No. Tokyo	14	25	2,759	5,881	1,738	2,744	7,408.85	21,128.95
So. Tokyo	15	14	2,887	4,731	1,741	1,805	7,158.50	12,153.00
Mid-Japan		5		1,696		727		4,716.39
Kyoto	11	24	2,682	4,915	1,599	1,820	9,115.17	*23,574.31
Osaka	12	15	2,760	5,069	1,634	2,029	6,650.12	13,846.63
Kyushu	3	7	1,239	1,990	624	860	2,001.13	6,552.75
Hokkaido	2	6	2,866	3,311	772	879	2,520.57	10,094.41
Formosa	1	2	121	383	71	176	347.42	1,203.13
Totals	58	98	15,314	27,976	8,179	11,103	35,201.76	93,269.57

* Including offertories

With the opening of the twentieth century conditions became more favourable for the progress of Christian work. The reaction gradually lost its extreme anti-foreign character. Moreover, the prospect of trouble with Russia exercised a sobering effect. The necessity for developing the real strength of the nation in order to meet the approaching crisis overrode all sentimental considerations in the adjustment of the new civilization to local conditions. At the same time a decided change in the attitude of thinking men towards religion began to manifest itself. They saw with concern that education and material development did not ensure the moral welfare of society. Although personally they might not feel the slightest need of religion nor any interest in its doctrines, yet they were driven to the conclusion that it was indispensable in order to supply

*Cary, vol. II, p. 219.

a basis for the ideal side of the nation's life. Opinion was greatly divided as to what religion was best suited to meet the need, but Christianity derived at least this benefit from the discussion of the question, that it created a general willingness to listen to its teachings.

Under these conditions the work developed, not as rapidly indeed as in the period from 1882 to 1888, but much more normally. There was a steady increase in Church membership, until in 1917 the number of baptized people had risen to more than two hundred thousand, including seventy-five thousand Roman and thirty thousand Greek Catholics.* Some eight hundred ordained native ministers and three hundred and twenty self-supporting congregations indicate still more clearly the growth in capacity for Japanese control. If the purpose of missionary work were simply the organization of an indigenous Church, able to support itself and manage its own affairs, we should be justified in concluding from these statistics that our task is nearing its completion. Already many of the Japanese Churches are strong enough to survive, even though we should withdraw all our men and cut off all our financial aid. If, however, the evangelization of Japan as a nation is our aim, then we cannot consider ourselves absolved from further responsibility until we have provided the means for accomplishing that end. A Church able to maintain itself and a Church competent to give Christianity to the nation are two different things. The fundamental question, therefore, in determining future missionary policy is whether the independent Church, which is now in process of formation, is competent to carry forward, unaided, the evangelization of Japan.

It is obvious that the Japanese themselves could not at the present time furnish the financial support necessary to maintain the extensive evangelistic work carried on by the missions. While there are three hundred self-supporting congregations, there are some fifteen hundred stations which depend upon outside aid. Were foreign help withdrawn a large proportion of this subsidized work would have to be abandoned. Such a backward step as this is clearly out of the question. It is to be presumed, however, that these aided congregations will in time become self-supporting and be transferred to what we may call the autonomous portion of Japanese Christianity. If we suppose this process completed, will the result be a Church

*Statistics for 1919: Members, 216,735 (Roman Catholic, 75,983; Greek, 36,618); Contributions, 1,028,061.00 yen ($514,030.50).

competent to deal with the problems involved in the evangelization of Japan? Our present missionary policy is based on the assumption that our responsibility with regard to a particular group of Christians ends when they reach the point of self-support, and that when the number of these groups becomes sufficiently large, we shall be able to hand over to them the task of completing the work which we have begun. We are assuming, in other words, that self-support implies competence for the task. The present system makes no provision for contact with churches when once they have become independent. Missionary assistance is confined to the aided portion of the work. On the other hand no way is provided by which the independent churches can be of use in the sphere for which the missions are responsible. We are procceding on the principle that work supported by foreign money should be kept under foreign control. Should not this policy be modified in both directions, so that the independent churches may receive the benefit of our co-operation and the aided work the advantage of Japanese leadership? In order to answer this question we must first ascertain whether the present system is working satisfactorily.

The record of self-supporting congregations in large cities is on the whole one of steady progress. So far as local work is concerned, their pastors have shown themselves both earnest and efficient. They have not only managed their own congregations well, but have made their influence felt in the community. In smaller places the situation with regard to independent churches is much less satisfactory. Many of them are not so strong now as they were ten years ago. Quite a number are without a pastor from inability to furnish his support. This difference is due in part to the constant drift of the Christian population from smaller to larger places.* Then again the most capable pastors are usually to be found in the city churches. Apparently, therefore, the progress of independent congregations depends upon certain favourable circumstances, which are to be found only in large centres. Moreover, the energy of even the successful churches seems to be exhausted in promoting their own welfare, so that their evangelistic zeal tends to become parochial rather than general. It is true that they are undertaking missionary work, to which they contribute liberally in proportion to their means, but the impulse which goes out beyond the borders of their own parish has not sufficient momentum to give life to a general evangelistic movement.

*Note: Another explanation is that the amount of salary needed for the support of his family by a pastor is almost three times what it was ten years ago.

While failure in this respect is compensated for by the work of the foreign missions, yet this will result simply in producing more independent churches of the same kind as the present ones. Those that are unfavourably situated will hardly be able to maintain themselves in stable equilibrium and even those which make satisfactory progress will not have enough surplus energy to enable them to take over the responsibility of a nation-wide evangelistic programme.

The defect of the present system is that as soon as a congregation has become self-supporting all contact with the outside Church is cut off. It is left alone as though it were a finished product, and no further use is made of it. Self-support presents itself to the little band of Christians as the goal toward which they are striving. When it is reached they become sufficient unto themselves. This isolation is a loss both to the local church and to the work as a whole. The spirit that has produced self-support ought to overflow the limits of the one parish, but it can only do this as it is reinforced from outside. The congregation may no longer need help for itself, but it does need help to enable it to be useful to others. This aid will in turn promote its own spiritual growth by giving an opportunity for the full exercise of its missionary zeal. The value of the contribution which we are making to the missionary cause will be greatly increased, if a portion of it at least can go through the Japanese Church.

The application of this principle will undoubtedly be attended with many difficulties. The present method of separate spheres of control for Japanese and foreign leaders avoids many of the irritating and delicate questions that will be raised by co-operation. There is also the danger that outside assistance instead of stimulating larger efforts will diminish the spirit of independence and responsibility. Such aid must not be allowed to deteriorate into a mere financial subsidy, but should be made the means of preserving spiritual and intellectual contact between the young and the old churches. The resulting relation must not be one of patron and client, but of free and equal association in a great enterprise, in which both parties render equal service and receive equal help. Above all, the principle that he who pays the piper calls the tune, must be laid aside, for the very purpose of this policy is to enable Japanese freedom and initiative to operate on a wider scale. This is, of course, not a new idea. The question of co-operation between the indigenous churches and the missions has for many years been a

subject of earnest discussion and investigation. Various expedients for preserving the contact between the two organizations have been tried, such as a standing committee composed of an equal number of representatives from each. On the whole, however, none of the methods so far tried seems to furnish a satisfactory solution of the problem of making the Japanese Churches themselves the medium through which foreign aid operates. In the Y. M. C. A., indeed, this is done by having the official members of the executive committee all Japanese, the foreigners holding only an honorary position. This arrangement is said to work successfully, but while suggestive, does not offer a model that can be followed in the more complex organization of churches.

This problem in the Sei Ko Kwai assumes a form quite different from that which it takes in the other missions. Indeed, at first sight it may seem to be no problem at all, for in the Sei Ko Kwai the foreign and Japanese workers meet on equal terms in the Church. With the Congregationalists or the Presbyterians the Japanese Church is formed of the independent congregations together with those supported by them. The Mission is a separate organization and its work is not directly a part of the Japanese Church. In the Sei Ko Kwai, on the other hand, foreign and Japanese clergy have exactly the same standing in the Church and all evangelistic work comes under its jurisdiction. While the missionary does not lose his standing in the American or English Church, yet so far as he exercises his office in Japan, he is subject to the Constitution and Canons of the Sei Ko Kwai. These Canons were formulated and can be amended in a Synod in which by far the larger number of delegates are Japanese. The same thing is true of the Diocesan Councils and Standing Committees. In all legislation and formulation of policies as well as in the management of single parishes no distinction is made between native and foreigner. The Japanese have practical control because of their numbers. In theory nothing could be more equitable nor more conducive to genuine co-operation, nor provide more ample scope for Japanese initiative.

In practice, however, the theory breaks down in two respects. The first is the authority of the Bishops, all of whom are foreigners. Constitutionally they have no more authority than they would have in the American Church, but when it is remembered that this authority includes the right of veto and fairly sweeping control of missionary work, it is clear that they can limit the initiative of the Church

to a considerable degree. Moreover, Japanese are accustomed to a governmental system in which the source of authority is the ruler and not the people. They tend, therefore, to defer to the Bishop's decision. This makes it difficult to appreciate the really Japanese character of the Church so long as its Bishops are foreigners.

The second point is that the control of the support which comes from abroad is in foreign hands. In the American Districts the Bishop is the financial agent of the Missionary Society. He, in conference with his foreign Council of Advice, prepares the budget of help needed and directs the use of all appropriations. He is not under any obligation to consult with the Japanese Church as to the disposition of money thus received or even to inform them as to what amount is available.* As practically all evangelistic policies involve expenditure of money, it is evident that Japanese freedom and initiative is limited to the self-supporting portion of the work.

Further, the Bishop has in his hands the appointment and placing of missionaries. The Canons require that he shall notify the Diocesan Standing Committee of the acceptance of a new priest, but do not give them any right to object. The employment, dismissal and locating of Japanese evangelistic workers is also determined by him, except where their salaries are paid by the native congregations.

The necessity for providing equipment also tends to throw the control of policies into foreign hands. The Japanese are as yet able to supply only a small part of the money needed for land and buildings. Equipment funds are not included as a rule in the Board's appropriations, but must be secured by special appeals to the Church at home. This is not a good system even as regards foreigners, for under it distribution of equipment is determined rather by the money-getting ability of individual missionaries than by the needs of the work. The native pastor must either secure the interest of the Bishop or of some missionary, or else go without improvements needed to carry out his plans. While the Bishops make a point of giving special attention to the needs of Japanese workers, the tendency is inevitably to repress their independence of action.

This is not at all intended to be an indictment of our past method of work. During the pioneer or formative stage, concentration of authority was the rational policy. Apart from any question of ecclesiastical theory the Episcopal organization has proved its worth

*Note: Of course, in practice he may, and doubtless generally does, consult with his Japanese clergy in all such matters.

in the mission field by the results attained. Progress has been slower in some respects than in other missions, but there have been compensating advantages. Others have developed more Japanese initiative and self-support, but we have maintained more suceessfully the contact between the foreign and the Japanese workers. This has given longer opportunity for training and influence.

While, however, we have insisted upon the importance of adequate training, we have all along been working up to the ideal of a self-governing Japanese Church. The time has come when we must begin to realize this ideal. The experiment has already been tried with regard to local work. In the larger cities practically all the churches have Japanese pastors, the majority of whom have shown themselves fully capable of working independently. In some cases the mission stations within the limits of a convocation have been handed over to the native presbyters with excellent results. The next step is diocesan self-government.

Diocesan self-government means, of course, a Japanese Episcopate. The Canons of the Sei Ko Kwai provide that six self-supporting churches in close geographical relation to one another may organize an independent diocese and elect a Bishop. Osaka has already more than the required number of independent churches. In another year or so Tokyo will also be ready to meet the conditions laid down in the Canon. In these two autonomous dioceses we shall see the first fruits of our long years of missionary effort.

What then is to be the policy of the home Churches in regard to such independent dioceses? Shall we consider that our responsibility, so far as they are concerned, is ended? We have already tried to show the bad effects of sueh a course in the case of self-supporting ehurches. The reasons for maintaining contact with the autonomous diocese are still stronger. If Osaka and Tokyo are the first fruits of our work, then the tree will be judged by its fruits and will continue bearing the same variety.

We have laboured to organize autonomous dioceses because we believe them to be the most efficacious agencies for the christianization of Japan. When we remember, however, the weakness, the inexperience and the immaturity of these new dioceses and consider the problems involved in presenting Christianity to Japan, it would be foolish to leave them to complete the work unaided. Further, it would be the throwing away of an opportunity for whieh we have

been waiting, bringing the energy of the whole Church to bear upon Japan through the medium of Japanese Christian initiative.

Co-operation with self-governing dioceses will involve many difficult practical questions. It will require, while not necessarily a greater amount of material aid, certainly high spiritual qualifications. More than financial help is called for and we should assure ourselves that we are capable of giving more. (It will not do to reverse St. Peter's words to the lame man.) The mode of co-operation will demand careful consideration. It must be effected in such a manner that it will stimulate and not be a substitute for self-effort. It must not bring the new freedom under bondage again.

Should we not also consider the use of Japanese control in non-self-supporting dioceses? One of the axioms of missionary work hitherto has been that self-support is the necessary condition of self-government. We may grant that a mission which furnishes support has a right to insist upon this condition, but surely it is not rights but the best mode of promoting the cause which should determine missionary policy.

From this point of view the true principle would seem to be that control cannot usefully be transferred until a strong sense of responsibility for self-support and adequate capacity for independent activity has been developed. With these qualifications assured, better results will be accomplished and complete self-support more quickly attained by granting control rather than by withholding it. We have followed this policy with single congregations and have found that by granting them after a certain stage some of the privileges of an independent parish we greatly promote their progress. The time has come when we may safely and usefully apply the same principle to convocations, or even to a whole diocese. Convocational autonomy in aided work has already been tried with excellent results. If the clergy have thus proved themselves capable of assuming responsibility, why should we not go further and use Japanese initiative in the episcopal office. The moral effect of a native Bishop, both upon Christians and non-Christians, would undoubtedly be great. He would naturally understand conditions better and be able to get into closer touch with the people than a foreigner. He would possess many advantages in the actual conduct of the work. It is true that other qualifications besides practical ability are called for in a Bishop, especially where his influence counts for so much as in the mission field. He must not only be able

to adjust himself to local conditions, but he must also have sufficient strength of character and knowledge of Christian truth to keep the Church loyal to its principles. There is no reason to doubt that among the Japanese, clergymen can be found who will measure up to these requirements. In order to give them an opportunity for practice in fulfilling the responsibilities of the Episcopate it might be well to begin with suffragan or assistant bishops in the missionary districts. This would, however, be only a preliminary step to granting full episcopal control.

The most serious problem connected with the establishment of a Japanese Episcopate is the preservation of contact with the home Church. If we decide to adopt this policy, we must find some way in which our influence and our assistance can be continued without infringing upon the initiative and authority of the native Bishops. This would undoubtedly be more difficult than under the present systems, but it is absolutely prerequisite to success. Does not our Lord's method of establishing His Church suggest the nature of the change which must take place in missionary policy as the work advances? The missionary's first task is the selection and training of a body of men to whom is to be committed the task of carrying the Gospel to the great mass of the people. As those whom he has trained become qualified for independent work more and more responsibility is thrown upon them. This does not mean that they are to be left to their own resources. We remember that our Lord continued His connection with those to whom He committed the task of evangelizing the world by the sending of the Holy Spirit. The manner of communicating the divine aid was changed so as to allow full scope for the exercise of the disciples' freedom and activity, but it was given without measure.

We have traced in this lecture the gradual development of the Japanese Church under the tutelage of foreign missionaries. It is already reaching the stage where it is capable of self-support and self-government. If a self-maintaining Church were the goal of our missionary endeavor, we might feel that our responsibility was nearing its end. We began our work, however, with a larger end in view, the evangelization of Japan. In a former lecture we considered the serious problems that have still to be solved before that end can be accomplished. While they are of a nature that only a Japanese Church can solve, yet they are of a magnitude that demands the united effort of the whole Church. The emergence of the Jap-

anese Church then is not a signal for our withdrawal but only for a redistribution of parts. It will henceforth take command of operations on the field. We will supply it with whatever is needed to make its efforts effective. In our next lecture we shall consider what is the nature of the help that we shall be required to supply under these changed conditions.

LECTURE III

Contribution of the Home Church

IN the two previous lectures we have discussed the task that lies ahead of Christianity in Japan and the part that the Japanese Church can be expected to perform as it becomes more and more capable of autonomous activity. The conclusion reached was that although the time has come to begin transferring leadership in the field to the Japanese, yet they will still need outside help in order to carry forward adequately the work of evangelizing the nation. What then is the nature and extent of the assistance that the home Churches will be called upon to give under these new conditions? It is of two kinds, material aid sent to the field, and the intangible but very real influence of the Church's Christian life and thought. For the sake of clearness we will consider separately the material aid needed in each of the departments into which missionary work is usually divided, evangelistic, educational, philanthropic and literary.

1.—In evangelistic work assistance ought to be given sufficient to enable the Japanese Church to make full use of its trained men and women. This represents a natural limit above which help would be harmful and below which the most valuable asset of our past work would become useless. The amount of aid ought also in some degree to be proportioned to what the Japanese themselves give. The intensity of their own efforts will determine the efficacy of their evangelistic work. All that foreign aid can do is to widen its scope. The application of these principles would be effected by conference between the Japanese Church authorities and representatives of the Missionary Society on the field. These would naturally be missionaries who would probably be working in contact with the Japanese and would be able to advise intelligently without dictating.

Another important service that we should continue to render is help in providing equipment. Religion in the Japanese mind is closely associated with the beautiful temples and shrines which form the chief ornaments of every town and village. Until Christianity can provide more fitting surroundings for its worship than the ugly little buildings which now serve as churches it will lose one of the most hopeful points of contact with the Japanese religious temperament. Equipment is needed also for the various practical activities without which it is impossible for the evangelist to get into touch

with the people around him. The cost of such buildings is entirely beyond the means of even the larger congregations, to say nothing of the little groups who represent the outposts of Christianity's advance into the heart of the nation. We should not relieve them of all responsibility, but supplement the really earnest efforts they are making to help themselves.

It would be a misfortune if the autonomy of the Japanese Church involved the withdrawal of missionaries from the country. Apart from the assistance they can give in the work itself, they will perpetuate contact with the older Churches. But what will be their status under Japanese control? Under the episcopal form of government the plan of having foreigners work in the territory of the Japanese Church but not subject to its authority is impossible. Will the Japanese Bishops welcome their assistance and give them opportunity for useful service? It will not do to force their acceptance upon the native Church nor must their influence be maintained by the power of the purse. Control of the funds makes it easy to command outward obedience, but after a certain stage becomes an actual hindrance to spiritual influence. The ill will and resentment sometimes shown by Japanese Christians toward foreign missionaries are often due to the irksomeness of their position of financial and official dependence. When this cause of friction is removed, attention will be directed to the real contribution which the missionary should be qualified to make to the cause of Christianity. At the same time the responsibilities of leadership will open the eyes of the Japanese Christians to their own deficiencies, and should dispose them to accept with gratitude the co-operation of those who come to them not to dictate but to serve, and who are really capable of service. To men and women who can adjust themselves to these conditions Japan will extend a call that is fully as urgent and as rich in promise of opportunities for useful work as it has ever been in the past.

The number of missionaries that can be advantageously employed must be determined by what we may call the working capacity of the Japanese Church. The evangelistic opportunities are so numerous and so appealing that they seem to justify the argument for a great increase in the missionary force. A foreigner, however, cannot work usefully except in conjunction with a Japanese colleague. Further, the results of his work must be incorporated into the Japanese Church so that care should be taken not to go too much beyond

its power of absorption. It is important also that the Church in its evangelistic appeal should present itself to the people as thoroughly Japanese. This makes it necessary to preserve a proper balance between the native and foreign element in its working force.* The fitness, rather than the number of missionaries, will be the important consideration. We should aim to send men and women qualified to carry to Japan the fullest contribution that the Western Church is able to make. For such there will always be room and a welcome.

2.—In the preceding lecture mention was made of the part played by educational institutions in the development of the Chureh. If the Japanese Church is henceforth to assume the responsibility of leadership in the presentation of Christianity to the nation, it will need more than ever before proper facilities for training its workers, both men and women. Not only must there be a constantly increasing supply of competent clergy, but the Christian point of view should be well represented among the future leaders of Japan's life and thought. Some doubt may be felt as to whether there is any need for Church schools in a country where the government provides such excellent educational facilities. The government itself, however, is giving great encouragement to the establishment of private colleges. The popularity of universities like the Keiogijiku and Waseda show that high grade private education meets a real need of Japanese society. The same thing is true to even a larger extent of schools for women.

In order to make full use of the opportunities offered by educational work, the Japanese Church will have to depend very largely upon foreign aid. The maintenance of even the present institutions would be far beyond its strength, but the standard of Christian education must be greatly improved in order to obtain through it such results as have been described. This will involve the expenditure of large sums of money both for equipment and for annual upkeep. We have made some progress during recent years in improving our equipment. What is now required is to give our institutions sufficient income to enable them to raise the standard of their work. They must be able to pay large enough salaries to secure competent teachers. The teachers must not only be competent technically, but must also be imbued with the spirit of Christianity. This means that to a large extent we must train our own

*Another point that deserves consideration is the proportions of the amount of money available that should be spent on the support of missionaries and on equipment and maintenance of work.

men and women by giving them facilities for special study both in Japan and abroad. The greater part of the teaching will necessarily be done by Japanese. Yet they should have the co-operation of a few foreigners, some of whom at least should be qualified for really scholarly work.

There is still another important service that can be rendered by a Christian university. Japan is, as we have seen, the meeting ground of two civilizations. Their amalgamation will give rise to many interesting but difficult problems, both practical and intellectual. Some of the thinking that will be required for their solution ought to be done under Christian influences. Our colleges should offer fellowships and be ready to furnish the requisite facilities to those who wish to do special study or research work. Arrangements should also be made by which the clergy can be given opportunity for preparing themselves to meet the problems involved in adjusting the Christian message to the old order of thought.

3.—Closely connected with educational work is the question of Christian literature. Too little attention has been given to this in the past. Japan's newest religious sect, Omotokyo, recently invested two hundred thousand dollars in the purchase of a daily newspaper. The Sei Ko Kwai has a hard struggle keeping a very inferior weekly journal alive. We have done little to encourage literary activity, and as a consequence have few writers who can appeal by their style to the general public. The number of theological books adapted to the use of the clergy is woefully inadequate. Japanese are great readers, so that our failure to produce Christian literature means the loss of one of the most effective means of reaching them with our message.

We have among our Christians an abundance of raw material from which to develop writers. All that is needed is encouragement, with opportunity for study and for practice. This, again, means the expenditure of considerably more money than the Japanese Church can provide. It must look to us for help. We ought also to do more to encourage literary work on the part of the missionaries. Japan has a bad record in this respect, being far behind China and India, where some of the missionaries have done excellent work. This is probably the fault of circumstances and not of the men, but now at least the situation calls for Christian scholars with time to devote to the study of the problems involved in the interpretation of our religion to the Japanese. The higher educational insti-

tutions would seem to form the natural centre for literary activity. There should be a publishing department or university press, generously enough supplied with funds to enable it to remedy what is perhaps the greatest defect in our Christian propaganda.

No system of religious training is complete which does not begin with the children of a country. The Sunday School and the kindergarten have made it possible to do this in Japan. Non-Christian parents who are indifferent themselves, or even unfriendly, seem glad to have us teach their children. The widest possible use should be made of the opportunity thus presented of preparing the way for future evangelization. In order to do this the Japanese Church will need the co-operation of trained foreign workers and also financial assistance for the maintenance of kindergartens.

4.—It has already been explained how Christian philanthropy, which formerly was the most efficient means of winning confidence, has gradually been rendered inconspicuous by the development of general interest in this subject. There is no lack of zeal on the part of the Japanese Church, but it is not able to work on a large enough scale to gain public recognition. It would be impossible as well as undesirable for Christians ever to regain their former monopoly of leadership in philanthropic enterprises. Yet it is highly important that they should have some adequate means of expressing their interest in the practical welfare of society. Here again they must continue to depend upon the assistance of the Western Churches. Our own mission has in its hospitals a ready means of rendering this service. In the past they have been one of the chief factors in promoting the growth of Christianity. Medicine, however, like everything else in Japan, has made great progress during recent years. The hospital that formerly was sufficient to win general admiration, today would remain unnoticed. Our own institutions are in danger of meeting with this fate. They cannot maintain their prestige unless they are given modern buildings, improved equipment and ample endowment. The Japanese will make the quality of their work the test of the value of the religion which they represent.

It may seem surprising, or even unreasonable, that as the Japanese Church approaches self-support and autonomy its demands for outside assistance instead of ceasing should actually increase. Why should it not when once it has attained its independence be left to work out its own salvation? Would not this in the long run be the best thing for it? If the Japanese Church had only itself to

consider this might be true. It is face to face, however, with the task of christianizing the Japanese Empire. Its baptized membership is less than one two-hundredth part of the total population. Through no fault of its own it is divided up into at least twenty different denominations, which are prevented from coalescing by prejudices or convictions inherited from us. While abounding in zeal, it is lacking in material means. Very few, even of its leaders, have thoroughly assimilated the Christian theology, yet they will be called upon to solve some of the most difficult problems in adjustment that have ever confronted Christianity in the course of its history. Surely then, unless we wish to postpone until a distant future, the christianizing of Japan, we cannot leave the Japanese Church to struggle with the task alone. We welcome its progress and place the leadership in its hands, not because this relieves us of any further responsibility, but because it opens up the possibility of new developments and renders any contribution that we can make more effective for accomplishing our final purpose. With an active partner who knows the field and can take charge of operations there we expect to do more business. This calls for a greater outlay of capital on the part of the firm, which is not begrudged, because it promises increased returns.

The material contribution which we send to the mission field is the channel through which our Christian life and thought is conveyed to the new Church. It may be compared with the sluice by which water is carried to the point where its energy is to be applied. The sluice cannot carry the water uphill. The amount of energy that it is able to release at the end of the journey is no greater than that which it received from its source. It is not the Church's wealth, but the spiritual driving power of its religion, that is needed to evangelize the non-Christian world. The value of any contribution that we make to the Japanese Church will be ultimately determined by the quality of our own faith. We must ask, therefore, whether Christianity as it is expressed in the life and thought of the Western Churches is adequate to the task of evangelizing the East.

A distinction has to be made between the ideal perfection of Christianity and the degree to which that perfection is realized in Christians. Ideally there is no question as to its world-conquering power. It may be that if we prove unworthy to be the medium for conveying the power and the wisdom of God to the world, He will choose some other method of accomplishing His purpose. That,

however, does not relieve us of the responsibility laid upon the Church by Christ when He constituted it His witness. Experience proves that although God does work directly upon men through the Holy Spirit, and that though in the Bible men have access to a more perfect revelation of Christ, yet the nature of the witness borne by Christian lives places practical limits upon the missionary appeal of His Gospel. Phillips Brooks once said that what we have to do is to take Christ to Japan and leave Him there. We can, however, take only as much of Christ as we ourselves have.

Such considerations have a much more direct bearing upon the work now than they did in the early days. Then the missionary, like the old-time ambassador, had plenipotentiary powers as the representative of his religion. His own life and teaching were the only tests which the Japanese could apply to determine its value. Whether these were acceptable or not, they were supposed to present a picture of conditions in Christian countries. Soon, however, the West began to speak to the East through other voices besides that of the missionary. These gave a very different impression of what Christianity meant in practice. They, no less than the missionaries, became its interpreters. In the long run, though the message as it comes from the pages of the Bible or the mouth of the preacher will reach the hearts of a few, the general effect produced by the preaching of Christianity will correspond rather closely to the resultant of all the influences that go out from the Christian countries.

The fact that Christianity is represented in Japan today by the native Church does not alter our responsibility in this respect. The Japanese Church is an immature reproduction of our own Christianity. Some of its most serious disqualifications for its work have been inherited from us. It needs our help not only because of its inexperience and material poverty, but also to overcome some of the weak points in the religion that we have given it. We have left it unprepared to answer many of the questions that are raised as it presents its message to a people who demand not only an explanation of Christianity, but proof that it can make good its claims. In its apologetic it has to meet two distinct classes of objections, those that are raised by the Eastern mind and those that are raised by modern thought. The Japanese themselves, perhaps, will have to find the answer to the former of these, though even here they will need our counsel, but as Christianity and the modern mind have both come to them from the West, they naturally turn to us to show

how the two can be harmonized. The Japanese Church, from its own membership, can furnish many witnesses to the power of the Gospel to save the sinful and give hope to the despairing. Can it, however, do for society as a whole what it has done for special individuals? Has it sufficient vitality to make its influence felt in national affairs, christianize business relations or arouse any enthusiasm among the general run of men for the principles of the Sermon on the Mount? However hopeful Japanese Christians may be in regard to such points, they have to look to us to furnish testimony based on experience.

How well qualified then is Christianity as realized in our countries to give the help that is needed to evangelize Japan? First, what as to the value of our moral witness? It would be easy to draw up a fierce indictment against the morality of Christian society, but that would not serve our purpose. The question is whether a Japanese, observing our general conduct, would discover any clear evidence of the moral power of our religion? It must be acknowledged that the evidence is not as overwhelming as it should be. In our international relations the influence of Christianity is not noticeably prominent. Our business morality may be superior to that of the Japanese, but it seems to be of the "honesty is the best policy" type rather than distinctively Christian. In general, while there is much both in our public and private life that a non-Christian will find to admire and to imitate, yet he will not be so impressed with our moral vigor as to conclude that without our religion imitation is hopeless. It is not so much our lack of moral attainment as our moral attitude which fails to impress. We seem to wait on the teaching of experience rather than to be driven forward by the Spirit of Christ. We correct public abuses when they have become a nuisance. We support enthusiastically measures and movements that make for practical welfare, yet, despite this propensity for keeping our moral premises clean, the Oriental in his actual eontact with Americans or in his reading of our papers, gains the impression that we are a pleasure-loving, money-getting race, proud of our achievements, though ready, perhaps, to share our superabundance with others, but hardly that conscious loyalty to Christ's ideal of the Kingdom of God is the compass that directs our moral course. The ethical standards and ideals of Christian civilization have found wide acceptance in Japan. If we are to go further and win acceptance for the religion also, we must prove it to be a living power in the

moral life of our people, teaching them not as the scribes, but with an authority that awakens a response from their conscience.

There is one point in particular about which the Japanese Church needs clearer instruction from us. What part should Christianity play in the social readjustments made necessary by industrial development? It is only recently that the changes due to the introduction of Western civilization have caused any radical disturbance in social and economic relations in Japan. Causes of unrest have indeed been gradually accumulating, but the passivity of the masses tended to make them adjust themselves to new conditions without undue protest. The breaking out of the world war, however, gave a sudden impulse to industrial development and at the same time called attention to the questions which were agitating Western society. This has resulted in the springing up among the people of an entirely new social consciousness. A widespread spirit of unrest and of protest against existing conditions is beginning to manifest itself. The social problem has become the question of the day, not only among the working people themselves, but also among the leaders of thought. What should be the attitude of the Japanese Church in these circumstances? Hitherto Christianity has been looked to for leadership in all matters relating to social and moral welfare. This, however, is a situation for which its missionary teachers have not prepared it. They could hardly have been expected to do so, for at the time when they were sent out, the home Churches themselves had not displayed any great interests in such problems or laid down a policy in regard to them. Are we better prepared now to give the Japanese Church the counsel which it needs? If so, we can put into its hands an exceedingly useful weapon. Nothing will strengthen its appeal more than to be able to make a substantial contribution toward the solution of a problem on which the thought of the nation is largely concentrated. Even though we are not prepared to give a final answer to this question, we have doubtless made some progress toward laying down a policy. It would be useful to send to Japan a few men and women who are capable of explaining to the leaders of the Church there the lessons that we have learned from our own experience.

Another qualification needed for the successful completion of our work in Japan is more missionary interest. We have seen that probably the work in the future will make greater financial demands upon us. That, however, is not the chief consideration. It will

require a much more genuine missionary interest to give help to a Church controlled by Japanese than it did to support it while it was in charge of our own representatives. There is much truth in the saying, "money follows the missionary." Stations in charge of a foreigner are nearly always able to secure better equipment and more adequate support than those under a Japanese. This is natural. The foreigner can arouse interest in his work by personal appeals. We feel the obligation to back up men whom we have sent out. As long as they are in charge the undertaking seems to be our own in a very real sense. But the transfer of leadership to the Japanese will largely do away with this incentive to giving. Has the Church enough interest in the cause itself to support it for its own sake? Has our religion the expansive energy to make its influence felt in Japan? In theory we all acknowledge our obligation to obey Christ's command to preach the Gospel to all nations. Yet, as was said before, it is not the ideal of Christianity but the degree in which that ideal is realized in our life which determines its evangelizing power. God may have other ways of fulfilling his purpose, but the question for us is, not can Christianity, but can our Christianity conquer the world for Christ?

The handicap imposed upon missionary work by a divided Christendom is self-evident. Sometimes one wonders whether it is not more than a handicap. Is not Chureh Unity an indispensable prerequisite to the evangelization of the Oriental and Mohammedan peoples? However this may be, our unhappy divisions weaken the moral effect of the Christian appeal and cripple the practical efficiency of the work. The most lamentable thing of all is the transmission of the spirit of division to the native Churches. It is often said that Church Unity will begin in the mission field, or that Japanese or Chinese Christians will set us an example of coming together. This is probably too much to expect, though it might be said with truth that the strongest motive to unity is found in the exigencies of missionary work. Our differences will inevitably be reflected in the Churches that owe their existence to us. If their contact with us were entirely severed they might be forced by the pressure of circumstances to coalesce. Such unity would, however, from the evangelistic point of view be defensive, not offensive. What we need is a unity that will qualify the Church of God to fulfill its responsibilities. We must contribute to the Churches in the mission field, not negatively by cutting them off from our separative influence,

but positively by giving them the example of a Church whose divisions have been healed by the unifying power of the love of Christ.

Up to this point we have been concerned with various methods of recommending Christianity by showing its practical results. "Ye shall know the tree by its fruits." But when we have thus proved the tree good, the question still remains whether it can take root and live in the soil in which we propose to plant it. This implies intellectual assent to the Christian apologetic. Men may accept a religion for a while without understanding its creed, but in the long run if its characteristic doctrines, its idea of God and His relation to the world are incapable of winning positive belief, their faith will lose its vitality. On the other hand, if the religion is too much trimmed down to meet their intellectual demands, it may be deprived of all spiritual power.

The problem of Japanese Christianity is to win the belief of a people whose world view is that of modern science, whose religious temperament and underlying philosophy are Oriental and whose practical ideals are approximately Christian. The bearing of the last of these three characteristics is, of course, favorable. It represents the preliminary achievement of Christian work. The adjustment of a Westernized Christianity to the Oriental religious temperament may be considered the peculiar responsibility of the Japanese Church. The problems raised by Eastern philosophy and Western sciences differ in many respects, but they have this in common, they make difficult the dynamic conception of God, which is the very foundation stone of the Gospel of Christ. Christianity is more than the revelation of the character of God. Christ reveals God's character in action, God fulfilling His gracious purpose in the sphere of human history and experience. To the Buddhist phenomenal existence is altogether evil. It is absolutely determined by Kharma, the law of cause and effect. The idea of God freely expressing Himself in the phenomenal sphere was so far excluded that the only way of union with the ultimate reality was by escape from the world of change and action. The Eternal is the Changeless, the Passionless. While Japanese Buddhism has shown developments in the direction of a more personalized conception of God, that conception still remains abstracted from the realm of phenomenal experience. Christianity, therefore, as the revelation of God in nature and in history, presents great difficulties. Even where the terms in which it speaks of God are used, the tendency is to give them a relative, not an abso-

lute, meaning. They are valuable as a means of producing a reaction in man's heart, but there is not necessarily an objective reality corresponding to them.

Western science for a very different reason finds equal difficulty in accepting the Christian idea of God manifesting Himself in the phenomenal world. To the Buddhist the world is so evil that the great desideratum is to escape from it. To the scientist it is so interesting, so sufficient unto itself, that there is no need to seek for anything beyond it. The sequence of events is explainable without God. The uniformity of nature seems to leave no room for His appearance in the sphere of physical phenomena. This philosophy extends itself inevitably to history and finally even to psychical experience. There is, according to it, no room for God's activity anywhere in the world of real events. He is banished to the realm of abstract ideas. This, of course, is an extreme statement. It expresses only a tendency, which in the West is checked and modified by other tendencies. While we recognize the immense value of the scientific point of view in explaining the "how" of phenomena, we question its adequacy as a philosophy of their "why" and "whence." We are learning that what science calls nature does not necessarily include the whole of reality. Our own Christianity has not passed through this crisis unscathed. For years Christian thought has been paralyzed by a divided allegiance, and while gradually it is finding a way to harmonize the revelation of God's free activity with the uniformity which science finds in nature, during the process even in Christian countries there has been a lowering of religious vitality. Faith and reason have their eyes turned in different directions. They become distrustful of each other and, although they may agree to keep on living together, they do their housekeeping separately.

It is obvious that such a state of affairs does not make for missionary efficiency. The same tendency that increases on the one hand the difficulty of the task, weakens on the other the evangelizing power of the Church. Japan was so much benefited by the results of modern science that her welcome to its philosophy was not surprising. There was but little to check its influence. Buddhism was in disfavour with the advocates of modern civilization. Confucianism, with its profound indifference to the supernatural, furnished on the whole a favourable soil for the growth of scientific agnosticism. The writings of Haeckel, Spencer and John Stuart Mill became

for a time almost the Bible of the educated classes. Later there was a reaction which has gradually brought about a widespread recognition of the importance of religion. The influence of the earlier teaching, however, still manifests itself in a decided shrinking from any close approach to the supernatural. The old Confucian maxim, "Honour the Gods and keep them far from you," would seem to describe the religious attitude of many modern Japanese. They demand a religious background, but it must be kept a background and not obtrude too prominently into the world of real events. Such an attitude is not easily reconcilable with the Christian view of God's free activity.

The early missionaries, however diverse in their ecclesiastical views, were theologically evangelicals of the straightest sect. They laid a solid foundation of true piety and fervent faith, which has stood the Japanese Church in good stead. Their theological teaching was clear cut and uncompromising, but it was not put in a form that would qualify their converts to grapple sympathetically with the problems of modern thought. But these converts were soon brought into intimate contact with an environment dominated by the scientific point of view. They could not remain unaffected by such surroundings, and further, they were confronted with the necessity of putting their evangelistic appeal in a way that would awaken a response. The result was that most of the leaders shunned as far as possible embarrassing points, confining themselves largely to the practical side of Christianity. Many have attempted a readjustment along the lines of liberal theology, but this has too often meant a reduction of Christianity to meet the objections to its supernatural elements rather than a restatement of its full Gospel in the terms of modern thought. It was not to be expected that they should succeed where so many to whom the Christian traditions are an inheritance have met with failure. The later missionaries reflecting as they do the chaotic attitude of Western theological thought, have not been able to give the help required. The Japanese Church, therefore, as it takes over from us the responsibility for leadership in the evangelization of its own country, must ask us to qualify it for the task by providing it with an expression of Christian truth which will satisfy whatever is reasonable in the demands of modern thought, without sacrificing those elements of the Gospel that constitute it the power of God unto salvation.

If in these lectures we have emphasized chiefly the difficulties of the missionary task and the unpreparedness of the Church to meet them, it is not because we wish to sound a pessimistic or complaining note. To one who looks back at the home Church from the mission field it sometimes seems that by making plain the requirements and complexities of our task God is pointing out the way to the solution of the problems that disturb our Christian life and thought. Christ reveals God's character in action. The Church as the body of Christ is the organ through which God's action is perpetuated and extended. As the field of action grows wider, God reveals Himself more clearly and more widely. The promise that the Spirit will guide us into all the truth would seem to indicate that the revelation will be made, not to a Church trying to minister to its own needs or to satisfy its own curiosity, but rather to a Church intent on carrying forward God's purpose. May it not be, then, that in the effort to fulfill her mission to the utmost the problems that weaken her will be solved. The times in which we live present two great opportunities for the fuller explication of God's character. One is the realization of the true ideal of His Kingdom in society, the other the extension of His Kingdom to the nations. On the one side are the masses waiting for the Church to assert in their behalf the fundamental democracy of the Lord's words, "and all ye are brethren;" on the other side are the unevangelized millions waiting for her to obey His command, "Go preach the Gospel to every creature." The Church has not indeed been altogether unmindful of her mission, but she can hardly be said to have put her whole thought and strength into it. Who knows but that in the light of that high endeavour, she will be given a vision of God that will harmonize with the furthest development of man's thought and meet the utmost requirements of his life. He who wills to do the will of God shall know of the doctrine.

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